

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PM-04 L-03 INR-07  
SY-05 PRS-01 OC-06 CCO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 /066 W

----- 061517 /43

O 191642Z DEC 76

FM AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4444

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 RIO DE JANEIRO 5089

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, AINF, BR, US

SUBJ: JORNAL PUBLISHES SECOND INSTALLMENT OF USG DOCUMENTS

REF: RIO DE JANEIRO 5088

1. SUMMARY: DECEMBER 19 JORNAL DO BRASIL CARRIES SECOND INSTALLMENT OF THREE PART ARTICLE BASED ON USG OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OBTAINED FROM LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON LIBRARY. DECEMBER 19 ARTICLES AS THOSE OF PREVIOUS DAY CONCERN PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO AND AFTER FALL OF GOULART REGIME IN 1964. (IN SUMMARY OF PAPERS BY JORNAL US CORRESPONDENT, REFERENCE IS MADE ADDITIONALLY TO MESSAGE FROM TUTHILL TO BUNDY OF DECEMBER 31, 1968 FORWARDING EMBASSY PROPOSALS RE US REACTION TO IMPOSITION IA-5). DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED INCLUDE PORTUGUESE TRANSLATIONS OR SUMMARIES OF FOUR 1963 EMBASSY TELEGRAMS, FIVE MESSAGES FROM AMBASSADOR GORDON, ONE MEMORANDUM FROM HELMS TO BUNDY, TELECONFERENCES FROM MARCH 31 TO APRIL 2 BETWEEN DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY OFFICIALS, CIA BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF LEADING BRASILIAN PERSONALITIES, AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHIC REPORTS ON PRINCIPAL US OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON AND IN BRAZIL CONCERNED WITH THE EVOLVING BRAZIL CRISIS. END SUMMARY.

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2. JORNAL DO BRAZIL CONTINUED ITS REPORT ON USG DOCUMENTS OBTAINED FROM THE JOHNSON LIBRARY IN ITS EDITION OF DECEMBER 19. JORNAL'S USUAL SUNDAY FEATURES SUPPLEMENT OF SIX PAGES WAS DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY.

3. LEAD ARTICLE IS ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY ON 1964 COUP AGAINST GOULART BY JORNAL US CORRESPONDENT MARCOS SA CORREA. SA CORREA COMMENTED THAT AMBASSADOR GORDON'S ROLE IN THE COUP WAS NEITHER AS LARGE AS SOME BRASILIAN THOUGHT AT THE TIME NOR AS MODEST AS THE AMBASSADOR LATER CLAIMED. AFTER AGAIN OBSERVING THAT DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED WERE RELEASED THROUGH A FREEDOM OF INFORMATION CASE FILED BY UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS RESEARCHER PHYLLIS MARK, CORREA STATES THAT THE DOCUMENTS REVEAL A REMARKABLE USG KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUP TO INCLUDE EVEN MINOR DETAILS. CORREA EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT GENERAL VERNON WALTERS, THEN DAO IN BRASIL, IS CITED IN THE DOCUMENTS ONLY TWICE, AND THAT CIA BELO HORIZONTE HAD OBTAINED MARCH 30 ALL DETAILS FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS THE FOLLOWING DAY. AFTER DISCUSSING US REPORTING ABOUT IA-1, CORREA COMMENTS THAT AMBASSADOR GORDON'S ROLE IN 1965 TO TRY TO SAVE BRASILIAN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WAS INGENUOUS, BUT NEVER FALSE. HE THEN MENTIONS A REPORT FROM AMBASSADOR TUTHILL OF DECEMBER 31, 1968 TO MACGEORGE BUNDY IN WHICH THE AMBASSADOR FORWARDED EMBASSY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO BRASIL IN LIGHT OF IA-5: SLOW UP \$50 MILLION CREDIT, FREEZE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT A NEW PROGRAM FOR 1969, CONTINUE NEGOTIATING NEW CREDITS ALREADY AUTHORIZED, CONTINUE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND CONTINUE DISBURSEMENT OF CAPITAL INVESTMENTS. CORREA OBSERVES THAT US POWER WAS NOT SO GREAT THAT IT COULD DETERMINE THE DIRECTION OF THE REGIME IT HAD ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTED IN THE BEGINNING. HE CONCLUDES BY NOTING THAT THE DOCUMENTS RAISE MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES THAN BRAZIL CONCERNING THE COUP. THE DOCUMENTATION SHOWS THAT THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EMBASSY AND THE CONSPIRATORS WAS EFFICIENT. BUT, HE ASKS RHETORICALLY, HOW LONG DID WASHINGTON FOREIGN POLICY OFFICIALS STAY IN THE SITUATION ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE RECEIVING INFOR-

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MATION; FOR HOW LONG DID GORDON BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE THAT GOULART'S OVERTHROW COULD RESTORE THE STATUS QUO ANTE IN BRAZIL. HE STATES THAT THE DOUBTS RAISED ARE SUMMED UP BY THE WASHINGTON DECISION TO REMOVE FROM THE INITIAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO MAZZILLI THE PHRASE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS".

4. THE FIRST SERIES OF DOCUMENTS REPRODUCED, IN PORTUGUESE TRANSLATIONS, ARE EMBASSY DOCUMENTS DATED NOVEMBER 5, NOVEMBER 19, DECEMBER 6, DECEMBER 19 (1963); AND JANUARY 2, FEBRUARY 18, MARCH 4, 26, 27 AND 28 PLUS ONE MEMORANDUM FROM HELMS TO BUNDY DATED MARCH 13 (ALL 1964). THE FIRST TWO DOCUMENTS CONCERN A VISIT TO THE USSR BY THE THEN MINISTER FOR AIR. THE DECEMBER 6 AND JANUARY 2 DOCUMENTS TRANSMIT OTHER CORRESPONDENCE. THE DECEMBER 19 MESSAGE REPORTS TALKS CONCERNING THE COFFEE AGREEMENT. THE FEBRUARY 18 MESSAGE REPORTS A TOUR D'HORIZON WITH MINISTER ARAUJO CASTRO BY THE AMBASSADOR. THE MARCH 4 MESSAGE FROM THE AMBASSADOR TO MR. MANN RECOMMENDS INCREASED MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE MARCH 13 MEMORANDUM CONCERNS PUBLICATION IN BRAZIL OF A

BLACK DOCUMENT PURPORTEDLY ISSUED BY USIS. THE FINAL THREE MESSAGES RELATE INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. APPARENTLY CERTAIN PASSAGES IN VARIOUS OF THESE DOCUMENTS WERE EXCISED BEFORE RELEASE.

5. THE SECOND SERIES OF DOCUMENTS REPORT, WITH MANY PASSAGES EXCISED, TELECONFERENCES BETWEEN WASHINGTON FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPALS AND OFFICIALS OF THE EMBASSY, RIO. THE DOCUMENTS ARE APPARENTLY WASHINGTON TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE TELECONFERENCES DATED MARCH 31, APRIL 1 AND 2 (SEVERAL CONFERENCES EACH DATE). THE TELECONFERENCES RELATE DEVELOPMENTS IN BRAZIL AND US POLICY INCLUDING THE TEXT OF THE RECOGNITION MESSAGE AND UNDER SECRETARY BALL'S CONGRATULATIONS TO AMBASSADOR GORDON FOR HIS "FIRM NERVES AND GOOD COUNSEL" DURING THE CRISIS.

6. THE FINAL DOCUMENT IS A CIA REPORT TO BUNDY GIVING PROFILES ON THESE BRASILIAN PERSONALITIES: DEPUTY JOSE MARIA ALKMIN, CARLOS LACERDA, MILTON SOARES CAMPOS, GENERAL AMAURY KRUEL, UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PM-04 L-03 INR-07

SY-05 PRS-01 OC-06 CCO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 /066 W

----- 061534 /43

O 191642Z DEC 76

FM AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4445

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 RIO DE JANEIRO 5089

JOSE DE MAGALHAES PINTO, BRIG. FRANCISCO DE ASSIS CORREA DE MELLO, HUMBERTO DE ALENCAR CASTELO BRANCO, GEN. ARGEMIRO DE ASSIS BRASIL, MARSHALL EURICO GASPAR DUTRA, GEN. OSVINO FERREIRA

ALVES, CELSO MONEIRO FURTADO, AGUINALDO BOLITREAU FRAGOSO, LEONEL DE MOURA BRIZOLA, ADMIRAL AUGUSTO HAMMANN RADEMAKER, WALTHER MOREIRA SALLES, MIGUEL ARRAES DE ALENCAR, NEY GALVAO, FRANCISCO JULIAO ARRUDO DE PAULA, EVANDRO LINS E SILVA, JUSCELINO KUBITSCHKE DE OLIVEIRA, AURO SOARES DE MOURA ANDRADE, CLODSMIT RIANI, GEN. ARTUR DA COSTA E SILVA, GASTAO VIGIGAL, ADHEMAR PEREIRA DE BARROS, DOUTEL DE ANDRADE, RAINEIRI MAZZILLI, TANCREDO NEVES, AND DANTE PELACANI. GENERAL TAURINO REZENDE NETO IS ALSO LISTED ALTHOUGH THE REPORT ONLY CARRIES TWO WORDS: DEMOCRAT AND SOLID. THE BIOGRAPHIES DO NOT APPEAR TO CONTAIN MUCH CRITICAL PERSONAL INFORMATION BUT ARE FACTUAL REPORTS TOGETHER WITH ASSESSMENTS OF PROBABLE POLITICAL VIEWS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE US.

7. FINALLY, THE JORNAL ALSO CARRIES BIOGRAPHIC REPORTS ON AMERICAN OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH BRAZIL: AMBASSADOR GORDON, GENERAL WALTERS, SECRETARY RUSK, RALPH DUNGAN, AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, AMBASSADOR ROBERT DEAN, MCGEORGE BUNDY, THOMAS C. MANN, PHILLIP RAINE, AMBASSADOR JOHN GORDON MEIN, UNCLASSIFIED

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UNDERSECRETARY BALL, JOHN MCNOUGHTON, NILES BOND, SENATOR CARL HAYDEN, JAMES MINOTTO, VERNET LAMAR GRESHAM AND HERBERT OKUN. THE ARTICLE ALSO GIVES BRIEF BIOS ON SEVERAL BRASILIAN PERSONALITIES NOT DESCRIBED IN THE CIA REPORT REFERRED TO IN THE PROCEEDING PARA. THESE BIOGRAPHIC REPORTS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN PREPARED BY THE NEWSPAPER.

8. DESCRIPTIONS OF FACSIMILES PUBLISHED:

A. NO CLASSIFICATION SHOWN, SANITIZED COPY. CIA CABLE NUMBER 50373, DATED MARCH 29, 1964. SUBJECT: ADVICE OF KUBITSCHKE TO JAIR DANTAS RIBEIRO REGARDING HIS REMAINING AS MINISTER OF WAR.

B. SECRET LIMDIS (CROSSED OUT). STATE CIRCULAR TELEGRAM DRAFTED MARCH 20 TRANSMITTED MARCH 30 TO ALL BRASIL POSTS (NUMBER 59 TO BRASILIA) DRAFTED BY ARA/BR BURTON REQUESTING POSTS REPORT DIRECTLY TO DEPT DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING RESISTANCE TO GOULART REGIME. DECLASSIFIED BY STATE LETTER JANUARY 12, 1976 BY LW, NARS, FEBRUARY 20, 1976.

C. MEMO FOR PRESIDENT FROM DUNGAN AND BUNDY DATED MARCH 31, 1964. NO CLASSIFICATION INDICATED. SUBJECT: REPORTING NO CHANGE IN BRAZIL SITUATION AND REPORTING MEETING SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 1.

D. STATE TELEGRAM TO RIO NO. 1292 DRAFTED MARCH 30 BY S/S CONNETT. CLASSIFICATION LOU. SUBJECT: COMMUNICATIONS INSTRUCTIONS.

E. COVER OF CIA MEMORANDUM CONTAINING BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION. MARKED SECRET (CROSSED OUT). DATED APRIL 3, 1964. MARKED

DECLASSIFIED AUTHORITY CIA OCTOBER 21, 1975, BY LW, NARS,  
NOVEMBER 17, 1975.

F. TELEGRAM FROM DAO/RIO TO DEPARTMENT. DTG 262200Z. CLASSIFI-  
CATION SECRET (CROSSED OUT). SUBJECT: DISCUSSION OF POSITION OF  
CASTELLO BRANCO. MARKED SANITIZED BY AUTHORITY STATE LETTER  
JANUARY 12, 1976, DOD LETTER MARCH 22, 1976, INITIAL ILLEGIBLE,  
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NARS APRIL 20, 1976.

G. STATE TELEGRAM TO MONTEVIDEO 363 DRAFTED APRIL 2 BY ARA ADAMS.  
CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL (CROSSED OUT). SUBJECT: EXPRESSES  
CONCERN OVER MANNER IN WHICH GOU MIGHT RECEIVE GOULART. MARKED  
DECLASSIFIED BY STATE DECEMBER 24, 1975, LW, NARS, FEBRUARY 2,  
1976.

H. MEMORANDUM FOR BUNDY FROM GORDON CHASE. CLASSIFICATION SECRET  
(CROSSED OUT). DATED APRIL 2, 1964. SUBJECT: ESTIMATE OF SITUATION  
BY BURTON. MARKED DECLASSIFIED BY NSC JULY 15, 1975 BY IP, NARS,  
JULY 25, 1975.

I. CIA MEMORANDUM DATED APRIL 3, OCI NO. 1081/64. SUBJECT:  
ESTIMATE OF SITUATION. MARKED SECRET (CROSSED OUT).

9. THIS MESSAGE WAS COORDINATED WITH THE EMBASSY.  
DEXTER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT OVERTHROW, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, JOURNALISTS, NEWS LEAKS, ALLEGATIONS, POLITICAL SU MMARIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760466-0388  
**From:** RIO DE JANEIRO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
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**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 RIO DE JANEIRO 5088  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** schwenja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 24 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <27 AUG 2004 by schwenja>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JORNAL PUBLISHES SECOND INSTALLMENT OF USG DOCUMENTS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, AINF, BR, US, (CORREIRA, MARCOS), (SA CORREA, MARCOS)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006